

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00603 01 OF 02 051027Z

12

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /026 W

----- 005658

R 050905Z APR 75

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1445

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LUANDA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 0603

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: AO, PO, PINT, SREF, PDEV

SUBJECT: PROPOSED AID TO ANGOLAN REFUGEES

REF: KINSHASA 2329

1. THERE AN OBVIOUS NEED FOR AN EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE PROGRAM TO REPATRIATE ANGOLAN REFUGEES AS THAT COUNTRY BECOMES INDEPENDENT AND POLITICAL LIFE CHANGES, OFFERING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ITS CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE IN DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. WE COMMEND SUCH A PROGRAM AS ONE USG SHOULD PARTICIPATE IN AND SUPPORT TO REAFFIRM AND DEMONSTRATE OUR INTEREST IN POLITICAL STABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA; OUR CONCERN FOR HUMANITARIAN CAUSE; AND OUR BELIEF THAT IN FAIRNESS AFRICAN GOVTS WHICH HAVE CARRIED ECONOMIC BURDEN SO FAR DESERVE OUTSIDE HELP AND RELIEF. IF SUCH REPATRIATION PROGRAM COULD ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST MODERATE RATHER THAN RADICAL POLITICAL ELEMENTS IN ANGOLA, AND LAY GROUND FOR ELECTIONS IN ATMOSPHERE OF FREE CHOICE, SO MUCH THE BETTER.

2. AMB HINTON'S BOLD AND IMAGINATIVE PROPOSAL HAS CONSIDERABLE APPEAL. BUT AFTER MUCH REFLECTION OVER

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00603 01 OF 02 051027Z

PERIOD IN WHICH NEW CIVIL DISTURBANCES HAVE OCCURRED

IN ANGOLA, I HAVE RESERVATIONS THAT A BILATERAL CRASH US PROGRAM IN ANTICIPATION OF A PROBABLY SLOWER MOVING UN REFUGEE REPATRIATION PROGRAM COULD BE EFFECTIVELY EMPLOYED IN SHORT TERM FOR PRECISE POLITICAL ENDS WE DESIRE, THAT IS, TO REINFORCE SAVIMBI'S MODERATION AND DISSUADE ROBERTO FROM INCREASING RESORT TO FORCE AND, IN SUM, THWARTING THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF NETO AND HIS MPLA.

3. THERE IS INDEED GROWING AFRICAN CONCERN OVER SOVIET DESIGNS ON ANGOLA. ALL THREE LEADERS OF THE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED COUNTRIES (BOBUTU, KAUNDA AND NYERERE) MIGHT BECOME EVEN MORE TROUBLED OVER ANGOLA'S FUTURE IF USG WERE TO PLUNGE IN WITH ITS OWN RAPID REPATRIATION EFFORT WHOSE POLITICAL DESIGNS WOULD BE HARD TO DISGUISE, HOWEVER CAREFULLY WE CHOSE OUR AID RECIPIENTS AND CLOAKED OUR EFFORTS AS HUMANITARIAN. THE OLD BUGABOO OF EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA WOULD INEVITABLY ARISE. (NOTE PARTICULARLY IN THIS REGARD DAR'S 963 JUST RECEIVED REPORTING NYERERE'S CONCERNS ON THIS VERY POINT.) ALSO, THE CHILE AFFAIR (AS WE ARE SO BITTERLY AWARE IN A DIFFERENT CONTEXT) HAS MADE US VERY SUSPECT IN AFRICAN MINDS.

4. IT STRIKES ME TOO THAT THE PROPOSED US REPATRIATION OPERATION WOULD BE OF NO DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO SAVIMBI, THE APPARENTLY MOST MODERATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE OF THE LOT, AND MIGHT HOLD LITTLE APPEAL FOR HIM. AND THE PORTUGUESE, STILL RESPONSIBLE FOR LAW AND ORDER IN ANGOLA, WILL HAVE A LOT TO SAY ABOUT A REPATRIATION PROGRAM AS WELL.

5. NEVERTHELESS, FOR THE REASONS OUTLINED IN PARA 1 ABOVE, WE SHOULD NOT PASS UP ANY OPPORTUNITY TO LEND AN EFFECTIVE HAND. BUT ACTION, IT SEEMS TO ME, SHOULD BE IN A MORE MULTILATERAL CONTEXT AND INVOLVE CONSIDERABLE INTENSIVE CONSULTATION WITH THE PARTIES MOST CONCERNED. RECOGNIZING THAT, AT BEST, IT WOULD PROBABLY GO ONLY PART WAY IN ACHIEVING THE HIGHLY DESIRABLE POLITICAL RESULT ENVISIONED BY AMB HINTON'S PROPOSAL, I SUGGEST PERHAPS THE PREFERABLE COURSE IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES OF A VERY CONFUSED AND DISTURBING

SECRET

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PAGE 03 LUSAKA 00603 01 OF 02 051027Z

POLITICAL SITUATION IN ANGOLA MAY BE THE FOLLOWING:

A) STIMULATE AND ACTIVELY SUPPORT A UNHCR REFUGEE PROGRAM WHICH PRESSES FOR RAPID ACTION, MINIMIZES THE USUAL RED TAPE AND DELAYS OF UN OPERATIONS AND MAKES PROGRAM PERFORMANCE AS EFFECTIVE AS POSSIBLE IN MOVING AND RESETTLING THE DISPLACED ANGOLANS WITH THE HELP OF OTHER UN AGENCIES AND VOLAGS, AS AMB HINTON WISELY RECOMMENDS; PRECISE

NATURE OF OUR SUPPORT WOULD DEPEND ON OUTCOME
CONSULTATIONS AND CURRENT STATUS OF UNHCR PREPARATIONS,
BUT A WELL-PREPARED AND EXECUTED US IMPETUS SHOULD DO MUCH
TO GET THINGS MOVING AND IT WOULD GAIN US GOODWILL WE COULD
USE IN AFRICA;

B) MAKE OUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS MULTILATERAL EFFORT
PROMINENT AND KNOWN TO THE AFRICANS;

C) CONSULT IN ADVANCE AND THROUGHOUT PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION
WITH THE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED AFRICAN LEADERS (MOBUTU,
KAUNDA AND NYERERE) AND WITH THE LEADERS OF THE LIBERATION
MOVEMENTS, PARTICULARLY SAVIMBI AND ROBERTO (BUT NOT IGNORING
NETO) TO LEARN WHAT IDEAS THEY MAY HAVE FOR IMPLEMENTING A UN
PROGRAM. MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE WOULD WISH LEARN SAVIMBI AND
ROBERTO VIEWS ON WHETHER THEY INTEND WORK WITH OR ISOLATE
NETO.

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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 00603 02 OF 02 051035Z

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 0603

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6. NOT HAVING CONSULTED ZAMBIANS IN ANY DETAIL ON SUBJECT,
WE KNOW LITTLE OF THEIR THINKING ON ANGOLAN REFUGEE PROBLEM,
WHICH HAS TENDED TO BE SECONDARY HERE TO THE MAJOR POLITICAL
ISSUE OF PROMOTING UNITY AND HARMONY AMONG LIBERATION GROUPS.
(ZAMBIANS AND TANZANIANS ARE LEANING TOWARD GIVING UP ON
NETO BECAUSE OF HIS INTRACTABILITY AND SINGLE-MINDEDNESS.)

IN A MORE GENERAL DISCUSSION ON OTHER SUBJECTS, HOWEVER, PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER MARK CHONA EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE DOUBT TO ME THAT IT POSSIBLE OR FEASIBLE IN THE SHORT TERM TO MOVE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF ANGOLANS FROM ZAIRE PLUS MANY THOUSANDS IN ZAMBIA IN TIME TO ESTABLISH THEMSELVES AS VOTERS. MOREOVER, HE DOUBTED SUCH AN EFFORT COULD REPRESENT A POLITICAL GAIN TO ANYONE, ALTHOUGH RECOGNIZING THAT CERTAIN HUMANITARIAN NEEDS SHOULD AND COULD BE MET. FONMIN MWAANGA WOULD LIKE TO SEE ZAMBIA RELIEVED OF ITS PRESENT ECONOMIC BURDEN OF SUPPORTING SOME 25,000 ANGOLAN REFUGEES IN THIS COUNTRY (MOSTLY OF MPLA PERSUASION). ZAMBIA, HE SAID, NOT PUSHING THESE REFUGEES OUT, ALTHOUGH ENCOURAGING THEM TO LEAVE. UNHCR REP HERE CONFIRMS THERE APPARENTLY NO ZAMBIAN PLANS AS YET FOR REPATRIATION OF ANGOLANS (LUSAKA 558).

7. I AM QUITE CERTAIN THE POLICAL FUTURE OF ANGOLA AND
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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 00603 02 OF 02 051035Z

WHAT USG MIGHT DO TO HELP IT DEVELOP IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREE CHOICE WILL BE HIGH ON THE LIST OF SUGGESTIONS WHICH PRESIDENT KAUNDA MAY MAKE IN DISCUSSING SOUTHERN AFRICA WITH PRESIDENT FORD DURING THEIR MEETING IN WASHINGTON APRIL 19. KAUNDA WILL HAVE HAD THE BENEFIT OF THE VIEWS OF MOBUTU AND NYERERE AT THEIR APRIL 5-6 TRIPARTITE MEETING IN KANANGA, ZAIRE. FROM THIS WE MIGHT GAIN A FULLER APPRECIATION OF WHAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO ANGOLA'S MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED AFRICAN NEIGHBORS IN ANY APPROACH WE MIGHT WISH TO MAKE TO HELP THE MODERATE AND LESS RADICAL POLITICAL FORCES AT WORK IN ANGOLA.

8. FONMIN MWAANGA AGAIN CALLED MY ATTENTION IN A MEETING YESTERDAY TO HIS MARCH 6 LETTER TO THE SECRETARY IN WHICH HE WARNED OF THE FRAGILE UNITY AMONG ANGOLAN LIBERATION GROUPS AND THE OUTSTANDING DIFFERENCES AMONG THE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED AFRICAN STATES IN THEIR APPRECIATION OF THE ANGOLAN SCENE. HE SAID ANGOLA WOULD BE CENTRAL TO THE DISCUSSIONS AT KANGANGA.

9. I AGREE WITH AMB HINTON THAT WHILE THE MATTER IS URGENT, BEFORE PUTTING OUR OAR TOO DEEPLY INTO THE ANGOLAN SITUATION THROUGH A REFUGEE REPATRIATION PROGRAM OR OTHERWISE, WE MUST CONSULT, ESPECIALLY WITH PRESIDENT MOBUTU. AMB CARTER'S FASCINATING REPORT OF HIS CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE (DAR'S 921) SUGGESTS THAT TANZANIAN PRESIDENT MAY BE ASKING FOR USG SUPPORT BOTH IN COUNSELING MOBUTU AGAINST PLAYING FAVORITES WITH LIBERATION LEADERS AND IN INTERPRETING AND DEALING WITH NETO FOR WHAT HE IS. IT ALSO SHOWS GROWING TANZANIAN (IN ADDITION TO EXISTING ZAMBIAN) APPRECIATION FOR SAVIMBI AS A MODERATE (DAR 968).

FINALLY, AND READING BETWEEN THE LINES, IT POINTS UP THE
POSSIBLE HEAVY RISKS FOR THE USG IN ANY BILATERAL REFUGEE
AID PROGRAM WHOSE BENEFITS WOULD BE CLEARLY ONE-SIDED IN
FAVOR OF ROBERTO. AT THIS JUNCTURE I BELIEVE USG HAS TO
BE AS EVEN-HANDED AS POSSIBLE AND THE BEST WAY WOULD SEEM
TO BE IN STRONG SUPPORT OF A UNHCR REPATRIATION PROGRAM.
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